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## POETIC JUSTICE IN THE AENEID

(Concluded from page 157)

Turnus's arrogance seems to be a family failing. Numanus, his brother-in-law, behaves in similar manner during the siege of the Trojan camp. He calls the Trojans *bis capti Phryges* (9.599), and, a little later, after dwelling on their supposed effeminacy (614-616), he cries, *o vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges* . . . (617). His final insult, *sinile arma viris et cedite ferro* (620), reminds us of Turnus's *bella viri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda* (7.444). But this haughty *vir* is destined to meet his doom from one of these despised 'women of Phrygia', a mere *puer*, too, as Apollo calls him both when he congratulates him (641) and when he checks him (656). We cannot help exulting at Ascanius's boyish and yet manly cry, *bis capti Phryges haec Rutuli responsa remittunt*<sup>90</sup>. In the same way, Allecto, the supposed old crone, had hurled back Turnus's words in his teeth—and with as dire result<sup>91</sup>.

Numanus has directly brought about his own undoing by his taunting and his vaunting. Of many others, too, it can be said that their blood is upon their own heads. In the Aeneid, the wages of many different kinds of sin is death.

The sin may be that of deceit. Thus Coreobus induces his comrades to don Greek armor (2.389-395)<sup>92</sup>, on the principle that all's fair in war (390). Soon frightful results ensue: the Trojans are slaughtered by their own countrymen (411-412). Coreobus, who suggested the deception, is the first to die (424-426). Rhipheus, Hypanis, and Dymas (426-428) follow him in death as they had followed him in deceit.

A more serious piece of dishonesty than that of which

Coreobus is guilty is instituted by Tolumnius the Rutulian<sup>93</sup>; he pays for it in the same way. After the making of the truce between the Trojans and the Italians, he, misapplying the holy function of an augur, interprets an omen (12.258) as a sign that the truce is to be broken at once. He urges the Rutulians to defend their king (264-265), and then himself hurls the first missile (266). In the fighting that results from his perfidy he falls (460-461)<sup>94</sup>. His death is followed by the flight of those very Rutulians (463) whom he had urged to defend their king; that king is carried off in flight (468-480), with Aeneas in hot pursuit (464-467). Finally Aeneas is attacked by Messapus, who had seconded Tolumnius in breaking the truce (290). He smites Aeneas on the helmet (488-493), and Aeneas, who, honorably trying to maintain the truce, has scorned to fight with any one save Turnus (464-467), in just wrath (494) rushes once more into battle. The fearful slaughter of Italians that results (497-499) is thus directly due to the perfidy of Messapus<sup>95</sup>.

The Trojan women suffer for the disloyalty to their leader which they display in burning his boats. As soon as they recover from their *furor*, they are filled with shame and grief (5.678); when, departing, he leaves them behind, they passionately wish, too late, that they could undo the past, and endure the very fate that once they had wished to evade (767-769)<sup>96</sup>.

Pandarus and Bitias, too, are wilful followers of Aeneas, and pay for their wilfulness. They do not mean to be disloyal, but their disobedience is inexcusable. Aeneas, a worthy commander (9.40), had given orders that during his absence the Trojans were to remain within the camp (40-43); but Pandarus and Bitias yield to folly, as do the women in Book 5, and open the gates which had been entrusted to them (675-676). The Trojans in general, who had earlier obeyed Aeneas's orders against their inclinations (44-46), now yield to temptation and dash out (689-690), thus becoming participants in the guards' guilt, and in their doom. Bitias is speedily killed (703-709). In his grief Pandarus loses his head completely, and, closing the gate, shuts many of his countrymen out, and shuts Turnus in (722-730). The Rutulian rages like a tiger amid helpless cattle (730), and Pandarus, cause of all the trouble, is the first to die (749-755). Many more soon perish (762-777). Meanwhile the disobedient Trojans who had been left outside *duro in certamine* (726) have likewise met a fearful fate<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>90</sup>See 9.635.

<sup>91</sup>See note 85, above. Elsewhere, too, Vergil effectively makes one character echo the words or sentiments of another. Perhaps the most striking instance occurs in the scene between Aeneas and Dido, in Book 4: compare 376-378 with 345-346, 356-358. When Mago begs Aeneas, *per patrios manes et spes surgentis Iuli* (10.524), to save his life for his own son and father, and seeks to move him with the mention of *talenta* . . . *argenti* and *auri pondera* (526-527), Aeneas bids him keep his *argenti atque auri* . . . *talenta* for his children, for there can be no thought of ransom since Pallas's death (531-533)—*hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus* (534). When Venus and Juno are contending before the gods on Olympus at the opening of Book 10, Venus's *quid repelam* . . . *actam nubibus Irim* (36-38) is reflected in Juno's *ubi hic Iuno demissae nubibus Irim* (73), Venus's *Aeneas ignarus abest* (25) in Juno's *Aeneas ignarus abest; ignarus et abest* (85), Venus's *est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera Idaliaeque domus* (51-52) in Juno's *est Paphus Idaliaeque tibi, sunt alta Cythera* (86). In Turnus's furious speech before the council (11.378-444) *nulla salus bello* (390) is an exact repetition of Drances's words (362); *pulsus ego* (392) suggests Drances's *pulsus abi* (366), and *solum Aeneas vocat; et vocet oro* (442) recalls Vergil's statement concerning Drances, *solumque vocari testatur, solum posci in certamina Turnum* (220-221; here *et vocet oro* is added by Turnus as *ignarus et abest* is added by Juno in 10.85). Another expression of ironical scorn on Turnus's part, *oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertis* (414), seems to have been inspired by Latinus's proposal, *centum oratores prima de gente Latinos ire placet pacisque manu praetendere ramos* (331-332), though there is no purely verbal likeness. Priam's reproach to Pyrrhus, *at non ille salum quo te mentiris Achilles talis in hoste fuit Priamo* (2.540-541), is doubtless ranking in Pyrrhus's mind when he flings at the old king his brutal command, *referes ergo . . . memento* (547-549); but again the reminiscence is one of ideas only.

<sup>92</sup>This incident was cited above as an example of a person's suffering as he has made others suffer. Here it is cited as an example of a person's bringing about his own undoing.

<sup>93</sup>We expect worse things of an ally of Turnus than of an ally of Aeneas. Compare note 26, above.

<sup>94</sup>The later passage echoes the earlier. Compare notes 85, 91, above.

<sup>95</sup>Just as the slaughter wrought by Aeneas after the death of Pallas was due to the cruelty of Turnus. On this see note 105, below.

<sup>96</sup>They are like the suicides in Hades, referred to above.

<sup>97</sup>Their doom, brought about by one of their own fellows, is perhaps in some measure comparable to that of the followers of Coreobus, Trojans who, through their leader's misguided guidance, are slaughtered by fellow-Trojans (see above).

A like fate befalls two other Trojans who venture out of the camp during Aeneas's absence, Nisus and Euryalus. Their action is carefully thought out, is actuated by the best of motives, and is thoroughly approved by the chief leaders of the Trojans who are in charge during Aeneas's absence. All alike, high and low, old and young (9.192, 226), want Aeneas summoned, or at least informed about the state of affairs in the camp. So, I suppose, it is proper and even glorious (compare 446-449) that Nisus and Euryalus should set out on their mission, but perhaps it is well that they do not succeed. What could they have accomplished by reaching Aeneas? He is bent on obtaining allies, without whom his few followers, stranded in a strange land and abandoned by their first and only friend, Latinus, cannot hope to prevail or even to survive. He is obeying the commands of the god of the Tiber. To achieve his end he must leave his men. He has given them orders for a plan of campaign which, though it is hard on their pride and their comfort (44), is valuable, since it assures their safety and their success<sup>98</sup>. Aeneas completes his great task without delay (10.153). When he has done this and is on his way back to the camp, when, indeed, he is less than a day's journey away from it (215-216, 241, 244, 256-257, 260), Cymodoce and her comrade nymphs bring him word of conditions among those he has left behind (236-240), bid him bestir himself (241-243), and aid him and his followers to proceed with all speed (247-249).

The manner of the failure of Nisus and Euryalus is due entirely to their own fault. It was no part of their task to spread death among the sleeping foe; still less was it their task to despoil slain foes. Nisus, who, as the senior and the leader, should have been the wiser, initiates the bloody work (9.329-338), and does it so savagely that he seems like a lion in a sheep-fold (339). Euryalus follows suit (342); indeed he goes so far that Nisus himself feels bound to check him (354). But lust for booty rather than lust for blood is Euryalus's undoing. He despoils the dead Rhamnes of his fine *phalerae* and *cingula*, and gets hold of Messapus's crested helmet (359-366). This helmet is the direct cause of his death. The light flashes from it (374) and betrays him (otherwise he would doubtless not have been seen *sublustri noctis in umbra*: 373). When he is pursued by the enemy under Volscens, his heavy booty delays him (384-385). The weapons that the unseen Nisus hurls in his defense are of no avail—he is not now attacking sleeping foes—, and Volscens, unable to see his assailant, turns with redoubled fury on Euryalus (422-423). Nisus springs in vain to the rescue, in despair at the danger to the friend involved in an enterprise that he himself had suggested. Both are slain.

The Italians recognize (457-458) Messapus's glittering helmet, and the *phalerae* taken from Rhamnes, whose death, as well as that of those who were slain with him, they are mourning (452-454); doubtless this does not dispose them to deal gently with the corpses of the two adventurers. The precise manner in which

they deal with these corpses is, perhaps, suggested by the sight of the remains of their own men. Nisus, who had had no part in Euryalus's theft of booty<sup>99</sup>, was to blame there. One victim in particular he had treated with especial brutality, cutting off his head and leaving the trunk spouting blood (332-333): *caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque relinquit sanguine singultantem* . . . . We may easily get out of these words a gruesome picture—that Nisus carries the head off with him as a memento. If he really was guilty of such savagery, we can better understand the spirit that prompts the Italians to set the heads of Nisus and Euryalus on their spears and thus reveal their fate to their sorrowing friends (465-472). In that case the treatment accorded to them after death was earned by Nisus through his bloodthirstiness, even as their death was earned by Euryalus through his lust for spoils.

This lust is shared by Camilla, and through it she, too, meets her death, for in her blind and incautious pursuit of Chloereus, whose glittering armor she covets, she is shot from ambush by Arruns (11.759-804).

It is a far cry from Euryalus and Camilla, both, for all their faults, such appealing figures in their youth and in their beauty, to Cacus. But his doom was due to a fault similar to theirs. He coveted, and stole, eight magnificent animals from the herd of Hercules (8.207-208) as the latter was proudly driving homeward his new-won spoils (202). A heifer, imprisoned in Cacus's lair, lowed in response to the bellowing of the free cattle, and thus revealed the hiding-place of the stolen animals to their rightful owner, who rushed to the attack in fury (215-221). In vain did Cacus flee, and strive to barricade himself within his den (222-227). His den was broken open by Hercules and its inmost recesses were laid bare to the light of day (241-242); finally Cacus was choked to death by the hero, and the stolen cattle were brought out by him, together with the corpse of the robber (259-265). These things would not have occurred had it not been for *furis Caci mens effera* (205).

Another monster, Polyphemus, brings disaster upon himself by interfering with another hero, Ulysses: not with impunity did he kill two of Ulysses's men (3.628). Ulysses's followers avenge their comrades (638); the punishment that they mete out so joyously (*laeti*, 638) is of the most frightful kind. Polyphemus's savagery, like that of Nisus, begets savagery. Even Cacus does not suffer quite so horribly at the hands of Hercules. This is fair enough, for, though he, like Polyphemus, has been guilty of slaughtering human beings (8.195-197), the wrong by which he has aroused the wrath of Hercules has been theft, not murder.

For theft, too, though of quite a different kind, Pyrrhus pays with his life. Orestes slays him in fury at being robbed by him of his beloved bride (3.330-332).

<sup>98</sup>If Aeneas's directions had been followed, we might apply here the famous words, *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* (Ennius, *Annales* 370, in Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* [Leipzig, Teubner, 1903]).

<sup>99</sup>Is this because he is older? We may in that case recall that Mezentius gives Lausus the arms and crests that he captures in battle (10.700-701). Or is it because he is already supplied with fine adornments? Euryalus had received a gold sword from Ascanius, but nothing to wear (9.303-305), whereas Nisus had received a lion's skin from Mnestheus, and a helmet from Aletes (306-307). Conington, in his note on 307, remarks that, in the corresponding incident in the *Iliad* (10.255-271), "helmets are given both to Diomed and Ulysses"; he might have added that Vergil had good reason for departing from his model.

Another violator of the moral code who suffers for his violation is Antony. All Vergil's loathing and the loathing of Vergil's generation for what Antony had done are summed up in the words *sequiturque (nefas!) Aegyptia coniunx* (8.688). It is *nefas* (1) that the husband of Augustus's sister has any other *coniunx*, (2) that this second *coniunx* is *Aegyptia*, a foreigner<sup>100</sup>, and (3) that a *coniunx* is following her husband into battle<sup>101</sup>. The first thought is, of course, merely tacit; it could not tactfully be elaborated by a poet who gave private readings of excerpts of his work to Octavia! But we know that Augustus's opposition to Antony was in part based on this wrong, and we note that, when Augustus takes the field against an adversary who is followed by one who is really a paramour, he is accompanied by all the forces of Rome that make for right relations and right traditions, *patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis* (679). The second point is atoned for, perhaps, by the fact that Antony has forfeited the glorious heritage of the Roman, of the *gens togata*. He comes equipped *ope barbarica* (685), and against the magnificent gods of Rome he can find aid only in monstrous divinities, creatures not even human in form or in voice (698). Finally, for his folly in letting a woman join him in battle he pays in full, for, though at first she calls the hosts to battle, using for the purpose the barbaric instrument of her people (696), soon, doubtless frightened by the sight of her barbarians fleeing in terror (705-706), she herself turns in flight (707-708); with that the battle is lost.

Perhaps with her action we may compare that of Amata. She, too, gives up when things are going badly with her side (12.595-596). Characteristically, she leaps to conclusions. Seeing no sign of Turnus's troops, she infers, quite wrongly, that he has been killed in battle (597-599), and, mad with grief, takes her own life (599-603). Her ill-considered deed works disaster to her cause; it makes things harder for the Latins in general (594), and, when the evil tidings reach Turnus (659-660), he completely abandons hope, and, admitting that fate is too much for him, refuses any longer to try to evade, or even to postpone, the coming doom (676-680).

Amata's fault here is primarily that of yielding to her emotions, of acting *per maestum . . . furorem* (601). This seems to be one of the most serious of all faults in the eyes of the Stoic writer of the *Aeneid*<sup>102</sup>. It is the great fault of that other woman whom in some ways Amata so much resembles—Dido. In varying degrees it is, as I have pointed out in passing, the fault of many characters in the *Aeneid*, from the well-meaning young giants Pandarus and Bitias to the ill-meaning monster Cacus. It is, in a small way, the fault of the impetuous young Gyas, who, in a fit of ill-temper because his

cautious old pilot Menoetes will not take the risk that he is urging him to take (5.162-164, 166), forgets decorum and not only his own safety but that of his comrades (174), and pushes the old man, who was only doing his duty as he saw it, overboard (175), and in consequence deservedly loses the race (224).

In a big way this fault is the constant and dominant defect of Turnus<sup>103</sup>. On two occasions, Turnus is cheated of a victory by his characteristic *violentia*. When he was shut into the Trojan camp by the equally imprudent Pandarus, he could have won the war if he had acted sanely (9.757-761). Again he is *furens* when the news of Camilla's death, and of its result, reaches him (11.901)<sup>104</sup>; he promptly abandons his ambush and his stratagem, which ought to have been effective. Aeneas, who appears almost directly, gets safely through the pass where Turnus might have successfully waylaid him had he possessed the patience and the self-control to wait a few minutes (903-905).

An even more serious wrong than Turnus's *violentia* is his cruelty. This to the tender-hearted Vergil must have seemed a cardinal sin. It is a salient characteristic of Mezentius also. We shudder as we hear from Evander (8.483-488) the tale of Mezentius's delight in giving pain. As a result his subjects cast him out; *their* manifestation of fury was just (8.494; compare 8.501, 10.714). This man Turnus has joined to himself as the first of his allies (7.647-648), and consequently his infuriated countrymen are ready to enter the war on the other side (8.496-498, 10.153-154), and thus Aeneas gains needed and valuable reinforcements. Mezentius meets the fate that he richly deserves. When he enters battle, the Etruscans, joined in common hatred of this one man (10.691-692), rush against him. He admits at the end that he deserves to die (853), and he has the crowning humiliation of begging his conqueror Aeneas to protect his body against the bitter hatred of his own people (904-905).

Yet the cruelty of Mezentius does not bring about his death so directly as that of Turnus brings about his death<sup>105</sup>. Turnus is determined from the first to kill Pallas (10.442-443). In this desire he seems to be actuated not by war-spirit alone, but by actual lust for giving pain; he wishes that Pallas's father, Evander, might be there to see the deed (443). Pallas is amazed at Turnus's overbearing manner quite as much as at his overtowering form (445-447); none the less he bravely enters the unequal contest (449-451). There is, of course, no chance for him; his weapon barely grazes

<sup>100</sup>One alleged misdeed of Turnus is justified by conditions. He is wild with anger and excitement (9.57-66) when he seeks to burn the Trojans' boats; but this, a war-measure, is not improper. It does lead to ill fortune for him, since, later (10.239-240), warning of a plot formed by Turnus and of the need for haste is given to Aeneas by one of the nymphs into whom Jupiter changed the boats to save them from conflagration. But the charge this nymph makes that Turnus was *perfidus* (231) in setting the fire seems unjustified. However, nobody who refers to this incident keeps to the truth. Juno falsely charges Venus with responsibility for the transformation (10.83). Nettleship attributes Juno's inaccuracy to an "inadvertence" on Vergil's part; I think it much more likely that Vergil deliberately intended to represent Juno as uniformly unjust and even untruthful.

<sup>101</sup>Compare my earlier discussion of this incident.

<sup>102</sup>Turnus's cruelty is responsible, incidentally, for the death of many of his comrades, for, after the disaster to Pallas, Aeneas kills with a mercilessness that is quite foreign to him. Note particularly his response (10.532-533) to a plea for pity and an offer of ransom made in the names of his father and his son (see note 91, above). As was said above of Nisus and of Polyphemus, cruelty begets cruelty.

<sup>100</sup>For the forceful juxtaposition in *Aegyptia coniunx* we may compare several expressions in the second strophe of Horace's *Regulus* ode (3.5): *coniuge barbara, turpis maritus, hostium . . . socerorum* (these words are separated, but the effect is similar). The same feeling inspires the bitter line with which the third strophe begins, *sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus*. *Medo* gains force from its position, between *rege* and *Marsus et Apulus*.

<sup>101</sup>For the typical Roman feeling about women taking part in battle compare Horace, *Epodes* 9.15-16, *Carmina* 1.37.5-21; Propertius 3.11.39-46; Tacitus, *Annales* 3.33.

<sup>102</sup>As I tried to show in the paper named in note 9, above: see especially pages 19, 20, notes 113, 143, 151.



Turnus's huge body (478), and Turnus hurls his in return, with the scornful taunt (481) *aspice num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum*. Pallas falls; Turnus, without a moment's pity or admiration for this boy cut down at the outset of his career, adds insult to injury by his heartless words and deeds. His message to Evander (492), *qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto*, is the more cruel for its ironical ambiguity. On another man's lips, there might be a touch of magnanimity in it, a parting tribute to a valiant foeman who died fighting courageously, and whose body is being sent back with all due respect. But Turnus makes it clear that he is sending Pallas back, 'as he has deserved', in disgrace, not in honor, for he sets his foot upon the dead form (495-496) and exultantly despoils it of the magnificent belt (496-497, 500).

This is, however, the turning-point in the history of Turnus. He does not, to be sure, pay the penalty at once. Aeneas, yearning for immediate vengeance, seeks him (514-515), but in vain, because Turnus has been ignominiously tricked by Juno into leaving the battleground<sup>106</sup>. The killing of Pallas is the climax of Turnus's career; it is also the crisis. To it is due directly the ultimate catastrophe. Even before the weapons are hurled, we know that Pallas must die, but we know more than that; each man's time must come (467), and Turnus's, too, is approaching (471-472). All Turnus's joy and exultation in the belt stripped from Pallas's dead body will change to grief (503-505). Those spoils, piteously missing from the funeral of Pallas (11.91-92), are to reappear, at the very end of the narrative, on the body of Turnus. That body is prostrate now (12.926-927), and the proud soul is humbled to supplication. For Daunus's sake, and in Anchises's name, he begs for pity (932-934). Aeneas hesitates; he is victorious, he is tender-hearted, and the plea in Anchises's name is doubtless a potent one. He had, it is true, refused a similar plea made just after the death of Pallas (10.524-525)<sup>107</sup>; but he was then in no mood for clemency, whereas now he has actually checked his hand (12.939), and more and more his mood becomes one of uncertainty (940-941). But at that psychological moment the *infelix balteus* catches his eye; he sees the flash of the *cingula* and the *bullae* that had belonged to Pallas, the boy laid low by the very man who now wears that *inimicum insigne* (941-944). Every word tells here, *notis* and *pueri* with their tenderness, *infelix* and *inimicum* with their implications (the *balteus* is *infelix* and the *insigne* is *inimicum* with reference to Turnus, too, now!). Perhaps still a third old father—not Daunus or Anchises, but Evander, that Evander whose image appeared to him so vividly after Pallas's death (10.515-516)—passes before Aeneas's mind. His old sorrow and his old anger (12.945-946) return in full force, and he cries (947-949), *tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum eripare mihi*<sup>108</sup>? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit. He buries his sword within Turnus's breast in hot wrath (*fervidus*,

951), and Turnus's body is left cold (951), while his spirit speeds away to the shades, in rage (*indignata*<sup>109</sup>; 952) as he had lived. With this final and supreme example of poetic justice the Aeneid comes to a close.

HUNTER COLLEGE

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#### DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN CLASSICS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1885-1933

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.129-132, 137-142, 153-154 (March 2, 23, 30, 1925) and 26.185-189, 193-197 (May 1, 8, 1933) I published articles entitled American Doctoral Dissertations in Classics, 1912-1921, and American Doctoral Dissertations in Classics, 1922-1930. I listed 383 such dissertations.

Some of the dissertations listed—perhaps thirty—were done under the direction of departments other than departments of Greek and Latin. They were included because they would, I felt sure, be of interest to some part of those whose primary concern is with matters classical.

Of course the lists were not perfect. My attention has been called to one or two omissions; doubtless there are others.

Various persons have been good enough to write to me, expressing their pleasure that these two articles had been published in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY and voicing their gratitude to me (and, in the case of the latter article, to my colleague, Dr. Moses Hadas) for carrying through the labor involved in their preparation.

In Philologische Wochenschrift 54.139-140 (February 3, 1934) some 46 lines are devoted to listing articles that appeared in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26, Numbers 22-27 (April, May, 1933). Of these, 17 lines are devoted to an account of my article on doctoral dissertations in Classics, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.185-189, 193-197. This article is described as "sehr verdienstvolle..."

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.129-130 I wrote as follows:

Prior to 1913, various Colleges and Universities themselves published lists of Doctoral degrees granted by them. Mention may be made here of such publications as Lists of Degrees Granted at Clark University and Clark College, prepared by Louis N. Wilson (1912); Doctors of Philosophy and Doctors of Science Who Have Received Their Degrees in Courses at Harvard University, 1873-1909 (1910); Doctors of Philosophy of the Graduate Schools, University of Pennsylvania, 1889-1912 (1912); List of Theses Submitted by Candidates for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Columbia University, 1872-1910 (printed as Columbia University Bulletin of Information, Tenth Series, No. 26, July, 1910).

The Johns Hopkins University Circular No. 226, published in June, 1910, contained the following matter: Notes From the Classical Seminaries....; Unpublished Classical Dissertations (37-38); Ten Years of Classical Philology (39-78).... Under the caption Ten Years of Classical Philology were listed the publications of "present or former members of this Uni-

<sup>106</sup>See above. <sup>107</sup>See notes 91, 105, above.

<sup>108</sup>There is a world of force in the emphatically placed pronouns, *tu, meorum, mihi*.

<sup>109</sup>The same expression is used with appropriateness in the description of the death of Turnus's equally impetuous aid, Camilla (11.831). The description of Lausus's death (10.819-820) is often compared with the other two passages; but the spirit of the gentle Lausus is called at its passing *maesta* rather than *indignata*.

versity for the period extending from January 1, 1900, to January 1, 1910". A number of the entries here were doctoral dissertations.

In *The Classical Journal* 1.233-239 (June, 1906), Mr. J. J. Schlicher printed a List of Doctors' Dissertations in the Classics, 1900-1905, and declared that it was the intention of *The Classical Journal* to publish similar lists from year to year thereafter, so that its files might finally contain a complete list of classical dissertations written in this country. This list gave 140 dissertations arranged primarily according to the names of the Universities by which the degrees were granted. Within each group the arrangement was chronological. Later lists appearing in *The Classical Journal* were as follows (all were compiled by Mr. Schlicher): Classical Dissertations in America, 1905-6, 2.177-179 (February, 1907: 31 items); Doctor's Degrees in the Classics, 1906-7, 3.198-199 (March, 1908: 29 items); Doctors' Dissertations in the Classics (1907-8), 4.180-181 (March, 1908: 22 items); Doctors of Philosophy in the Classics, 1908-9, 5.133-134 (January, 1910: 27 items); Doctor's Dissertations in Classical Departments for the Year Ending July 1, 1910, 6.373-374 (June, 1911: 22 items); Doctors' Dissertations in the Classics, 1910-11, 7.187-188 (January, 1912: 21 items).

It is to be noticed that these lists gave not merely published dissertations, but titles of all dissertations accepted by the Departments in the various Colleges and Universities for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Some of these have never been published.

I do not know, but I assume that the publication of the volumes by the Library of Congress giving lists of all dissertations published year by year caused the giving up by *The Classical Journal* of this very useful plan of publishing, from year to year, lists of classical dissertations.

I may notice that, for the past four or five years, in the article entitled *Philology, Classical*, which I contribute annually to *The New International Year Book*, I have given lists of American doctoral dissertations in the classical field published within the preceding year. But these lists are inevitably incomplete. Only the Library of Congress can expect to receive copies of all dissertations<sup>1</sup>.

In various volumes of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* will be found brief abstracts of doctoral dissertations in Classics accepted by Harvard University. These dissertations, done at first in Latin, are sometimes published later, in more or less modified form, in English, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. <This practice is still continued>.

The University of Chicago Bulletin of Information, 22, No. 4 (May, 1922) contained a Register of Doctors of Philosophy of the University of Chicago, June 1893-December 1921 (96 pages)....<sup>2</sup>

In *The Classical Journal* 10.85-86 (November, 1914) Professor W. A. Heidel reviewed A List of American Doctoral Dissertations Printed in 1912, Prepared by Charles A. Flagg, and printed at Washington, D. C., at the Government Printing Office, in 1913 (Pp. 106). This was the initial volume of a series which is still in progress. I quote part of Professor Heidel's review:

Mr. Flagg, of the catalogue division of the Library of Congress, has rendered a distinct service in preparing the list of American doctoral dissertations, a service which, it is to be hoped, the Library of Congress will continue to render annually from this time forward....

The value of such lists will be at once recognized by

<sup>1</sup>Years ago, for lack of space, I had to discontinue the practice of including in these articles notices of dissertations.

<sup>2</sup>In this pamphlet pages 31-33 give dissertations in Greek, pages 33-35 dissertations in Latin, pages 35-36 dissertations in comparative philology.

all in view of the hitherto inadequate representation of American publications in bibliographies printed chiefly abroad; but one who, like the writer, has been requested at various times to review the American output of classical dissertations, and has endeavored to obtain complete lists for the *American Year Book* with indifferent success, will appreciate them to the full. Unfortunately they must appear too late to be of much service for these purposes, but one is pleased to revise and complete one's own bibliography. I have compared this list with my own and note no omissions.

In what follows I present a complete list of doctoral dissertations done under the supervision of the Department of Greek and Latin, Columbia University, 1885-1933. The period coincides with the half-century of my own connection with Columbia University (undergraduate, 1883-1887, Prize Fellow, 1887-1890, Tutorial Fellow, 1890-1891, service at Barnard College, 1891-). I present the list in three forms, I, arrangement according to the alphabetical order of the names of the authors of the dissertations, II, arrangement according to the years in which the degree was granted (not according to the years in which the dissertations were published), III, arrangement according to the alphabetical order of the names of the professors under whose direction the dissertations were done.

I hope to see published, presently, similar lists of dissertations done at other American Universities.

# I

1. Baldwin, Florence Theodora (1911: H. T. Peck<sup>3</sup>): *The Bellum Civile of Petronius*, Edited, With Introduction, Commentary, and Translation (Columbia University Press, 1911). Pp. viii, 264.

2. Ball, Allan Perley (1903: H. T. Peck): *A Satire of Seneca on the Apotheosis of Claudius*, Commonly Called the *ANOKOΛOKTNTΩEIS* (Columbia University Press, 1903). Pp. vii, [1]<sup>4</sup>, 256.

3. Bennett, Florence Mary, now Anderson, Mrs. Louis Francis (1912: C. H. Young): *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons* (Columbia University Press, 1912). Pp. [xii], 79.

4. Carpenter, Rhys (1916: E. D. Perry): *The Ethics of Euripides* (Columbia University Press, 1916: originally published in *Archives of Philosophy*, Edited by Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, No. 7, May, 1916). Pp. 48.

5. Cass, Myrtle Marguerite (1933: N. G. McCrea): *The First Book of Jerome Cardan's Treatise De Subtilitate*, Translated from the Original Latin, With Text, Introduction, and Commentary (Williamsport, Pennsylvania, The Bayard Press, 1934). Pp. 191.

6. Chickering, Edward Conner (1911: H. T. Peck): *An Introduction to Octavia Praetexta* (Jamaica, New York, The Marion Press, 1910). Pp. 90.

7. Clark, Victor Selden (1900: H. T. Peck): *Studies in the Latin of the Middle Ages* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The New Era Printing Company, 1900). Pp. [ii], 113, [plus the Vita, of one page, unnumbered].

8. Cooper, Frederic Taber (1895: H. T. Peck): *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*: An

<sup>3</sup>I give thus in parenthesis the year in which the degree was granted and the name of the professor or professors under whose supervision the dissertation was done.

<sup>4</sup>Entries such as this give pages that are not numbered.

- Historical Study of the Development of Vocabulary in Vulgar and Late Latin, With Special Reference to the Romance Languages (New York, 1895). Pp. xlvii, [i], 329.
9. Cosenza, Mario Emilio (1906: H. T. Peck): Official Positions After the Time of Constantine (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The New Era Printing Company, 1905). Pp. iii, [i], 109, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].
  10. De Graff, Thelma B. (1931: C. Knapp): Naevian Studies (Geneva, New York, W. F. Humphrey, 1931). Pp. x, 96.
  11. Drabkin, Israel E. (1930: C. Knapp): The Copa: An Investigation of the Problem of Date and Authorship, With Notes on Some Passages of the Poem (Geneva, New York, The W. F. Humphrey Press, 1930). Pp. vii, [i], 107.
  12. Du Bois, Elizabeth Hickman, later Peck, Mrs. Harry Thurston (1906: H. T. Peck): The Influence of a Stress Accent in Latin Poetry (Columbia University Press, 1906). Pp. v, [i], 96.
  13. Earle, Mortimer Lamson (1889: A. C. Merriam). This dissertation, written in Latin, was presented in manuscript, with the title *Quaestiones Sicyoniae*. The pages are not numbered. A copy is in the Columbia University Library, in Columbiana. The dissertation was reprinted, in part, in an article entitled *A Sicyonian Statue*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series 1, 5 (1889), 292-303.
  14. Egbert, James C., Jr. (1885: Henry Drisler): Pindar. This dissertation was not published. The manuscript contained 165 pages. It is to be found in the Columbia University Library, in Columbiana.
  15. Foster, Walter Eugene (1912: C. Knapp): Studies in Archaism in Aulus Gellius (New York, 1912). Pp. [ii], 67, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].
  16. Franklin, Alberta Mildred (1921: N. G. McCrea): The Lupercalia (New York, 1921). Pp. [ii], 105 [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].
  17. Glass, Meta (1913: N. G. McCrea): The Fusion of Stylistic Elements in Vergil's Georgics (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The New Era Printing Company, 1913). Pp. vi, 93, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].
  18. Grieve, Lucia Catherine Graeme (1898: E. D. Perry): Death and Burial in Attic Tragedy. Part I (New York, 1898). Pp. 81, [1].
  19. Hadas, Moses (1930: C. Knapp): Sextus Pompey (Columbia University Press, 1930). Pp. viii, 181.
  20. Hahn, E. Adelaide (1929: C. Knapp): Coordination of Non-Coordinated Elements in Vergil (Geneva, New York, W. F. Humphrey, 1930). Pp. xiii, [i], 264, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].
  21. Hammer, Jacob (1926: C. Knapp): Prolegomena to an Edition of the Panegyricus Messalae—The Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (Columbia University Press, 1925). Pp. ix, [i], 100.
  22. Henry, Margaret Young (1926: N. G. McCrea): The Relation of Dogmatism and Scepticism in the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero (Geneva, New York, W. F. Humphrey, 1925). Pp. vii, [i], 117.
  23. Hirst, Gertrude Mary (1902: E. D. Perry): The Cults of Olbia. Reprinted from *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 21 (1901), 245-267, 22 (1902), 24-54.
  24. Hoadley, Harwood (1909: Begun under M. L. Earle, completed under E. D. Perry): The Authenticity and Date of the Sophoclean Ajax Verses 1040-1420 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The New Era Printing Company, 1909). Pp. viii, 52.
  25. Johnston, Mary (1933: C. Knapp): Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy (Plautus and Terence) (Geneva, New York, The W. F. Humphrey Press, 1933). Pp. vii, [i], 153.
  26. Klein, Anita E., now Young, Mrs. Clarence Hoffman (1932: C. H. Young): Child Life in Greek Art (Columbia University Press, 1932). Pp. xix, [i], 62. Plates XL.
  27. Knapp, Charles (1890: H. T. Peck): De Usu atque Elocutione Auli Gellii. Unpublished. The manuscript, in Latin, contains 259 pages. A copy is in the Columbia University Library, in Columbiana.
  28. Kober, Alice E. (1932: C. Knapp): The Use of Color Terms in Greek Poetry (Geneva, New York, The W. F. Humphrey Press, 1932). Pp. viii, 122, [i].
  29. Kohn, Lucile (1909: Begun under M. L. Earle, completed under E. D. Perry): De Vestigiis Aeschyli apud Sophoclem Euripidem Aristophanem (New York, 1909). Pp. 59.
  30. McClees, Helen (1919: C. H. Young): A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions (Columbia University Press, 1920). Pp. [vi], 51.
  31. McCrea, Nelson Glenn (1888: Henry Drisler): The State as Conceived by Plato and by Aristotle. This dissertation was not published. There is no copy of the dissertation in the Columbia University Library.
  32. McMahon, Robert Cecil (1907: J. R. Wheeler): Technical History of White Lecythi (Reprinted from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series 2, 2 [1907], 7-35).
  33. Macurdy, Grace Harriet (1903: M. L. Earle): The Chronology of the Extant Plays of Euripides (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The New Era Printing Company, 1905). Pp. iii, [i], 128.
  34. Manning, Clarence Augustus (1915: E. D. Perry): A Study of Archaism in Euripides (Columbia University Press, 1916). Pp. [viii], 98.
  35. Messer, William Stuart (1918: C. Knapp): The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy (Columbia University Press, 1918). Pp. viii, [ii], 105.
  36. Ogden, Charles Jones (1909: E. D. Perry): De Infinitivi Finalis vel Consecutivi Constructione apud Priscos Poetas Graecos (Columbia University Press, 1909). Pp. [iv], 65.
  37. Olcott, George N. (1899: H. T. Peck): Studies in the Word Formation of the Latin Inscriptions: Substantives and Adjectives With Special Reference to the Latin Sermo Vulgaris (Rome, Sallustian Typography, 1898). Pp. xxvi, 263.
  38. Poteat, Hubert McNeill (1912: C. Knapp): Repetition in Latin Poetry (New York, 1912). Pp. [iv], 79, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].
  39. Radin, Max (1910: J. C. Egbert and Monroe Smith): The Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on



Corporations (New Haven, Connecticut, The Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Press: not dated). Pp. xi, [i], 147, [ii. One of these last two pages is the Vita].

40. Reiley, Katharine Campbell (1909: H. T. Peck): *Studies in the Philosophical Terminology of Lucretius and Cicero* (Columbia University Press, 1909). Pp. i, [i], 133.

41. Reinhold, Meyer (1933: C. Knapp): *Marcus Agrippa: A Biography* (Geneva, New York, The W. F. Humphrey Press, 1933). Pp. ix, [i], 203.

42. Ringwood, Irene Cecilie, now Arnold, Mrs. Irene C. (1928: E. D. Perry and C. H. Young): *Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals, Chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence: Part I: Non-Attic Mainland and Adjacent Islands, Except Euboea* (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1927). Pp. 107, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].

43. Robinson, Florence Horton (1929: C. H. Young): *The Tridimensional Problem in Greek Sculpture*. Pp. 58. Reprinted from *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 7 (1929), 119-168. There are 6 Plates (VIII-XIII).

44. Rogers, James Dennison (1894: A. C. Merriam): *Language of Aeschylus Compared with the Language of the Attic Inscriptions Prior to 456 B. C.* (New York, Putnam, 1894). Pp. vi, 58.

45. Rowland, William T. (1918: E. H. Sturtevant): *On the Position in the Clause of Ne and Ut in Certain Documents of Colloquial Latin* (Columbia University Press, 1918). Pp. vi, 44.

46. Saunders, Catharine (1909: C. Knapp): *Costume in Roman Comedy* (Columbia University Press, 1909). Pp. x, 145.

47. Sell, Lewis L. (1918: N. G. McCrea): *De Catulli Carminum Sexagesimo Quarto Quaestiones Diversae* (New York, W. D. Gray, 1918). Pp. [ii], 110, [plus the Vita, one page, unnumbered].

48. Sister Marie José (1915: H. T. Peck): *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius* (Columbia University Press, 1916). Pp. viii, 101.

49. Spaulding, Leila Clement, now Kent, Mrs. Edward W. (1911: C. H. Young): *The "Camillus"-Type in Greek Sculpture* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The New Era Printing Company, 1911). Pp. v, [i], 65.

50. Tamblyn, William Ferguson (1898: J. C. Egbert): *The Establishment of Roman Power in Great Britain* (Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, McPherson and Drope, 1899). Pp. 105.

51. Tavenner, Eugene (1916: C. Knapp): *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1916). Pp. x, [ii], 155.

52. Thallon, Ida Carleton, now Hill, Mrs. Bert Hodge (1905: J. R. Wheeler and E. D. Perry): *Lycosura and the Date of Damophon*. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Second Series, 10 (1906), 302-329.

53. Wilson, Pearl Cleveland (1917: E. D. Perry): *Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy* (Columbia University Press, 1919). Pp. vii, [i], 97.

54. Young, Clarence Hoffman (1891: A. C. Mer-

riam): *Erchia, A Deme of Attica* (New York, E. and J. B. Young and Co., 1891). Pp. 67.

## II

1885: Egbert, James C., Jr.

1888: McCrea, Nelson Glenn.

1889: Earle, Mortimer Lamson.

1890: Knapp, Charles.

1891: Young, Clarence Hoffman.

1894: Rogers, James Dennison.

1895: Cooper, Frederic Taber.

1898: Grieve, Lucia Catherine Graeme; Tamblyn, William Ferguson.

1899: Olcott, George.

1900: Clark, Victor Selden.

1902: Hirst, Gertrude Mary.

1903: Ball, Allan Perley; Macurdy, Grace Harriet.

1905: Thallon, Ida Carleton, now Hill, Mrs. Bert Hodge.

1906: Cosenza, Mario Emilio; Du Bois, Elizabeth Hickman, later Peck, Mrs. Harry Thurston.

1907: McMahon, Robert Cecil.

1909: Hoadley, Harwood; Kohn, Lucile; Ogden, Charles Jones; Reiley, Katharine Campbell; Saunders, Catharine.

1911: Baldwin, Florence Theodora; Chickering, Edward Conner; Spaulding, Leila Clement, now Kent, Mrs. Edward W.

1912: Bennett, Florence Mary, now Anderson, Mrs. Louis Francis; Foster, Walter Eugene; Poteat, Hubert McNeill.

1913: Glass, Meta.

1915: Manning, Clarence Augustus; Sister Marie José.

1916: Carpenter, Rhys; Tavenner, Eugene.

1917: Wilson, Pearl Cleveland.

1918: Messer, William Stuart; Rowland, William T.; Sell, Lewis L.

1920: McClees, Helen.

1921: Franklin, Alberta Mildred.

1926: Hammer, Jacob; Henry, Margaret Young.

1928: Ringwood, Irene C., now Arnold, Mrs. Irene C.

1929: Hahn, E. Adelaide; Robinson, Florence Horton.

1930: Drabkin, Israel E.; Hadas, Moses.

1931: De Graff, Thelma B.

1932: Klein, Anita E., now Young, Mrs. Clarence Hoffman; Kober, Alice E.

1933: Cass, Myrtle Marguerite; Johnston, Mary; Reinhold, Meyer.

## III

Henry Drisler (2): Egbert, James C., Jr.; McCrea, Nelson Glenn.

Mortimer Lamson Earle (3): Hoadley, Harwood (with Professor Perry); Kohn, Lucile (with Professor Perry); Macurdy, Grace Harriet.

James C. Egbert, Jr. (2): Radin, Max (with Professor Monroe Smith); Tamblyn, William Ferguson.

Charles Knapp (13): De Graff, Thelma B.; Drabkin, Israel E.; Foster, Walter Eugene; Hadas, Moses; Hahn, E. Adelaide; Hammer, Jacob; Johnston, Mary; Kober, Alice E.; Messer, William Stuart; Poteat, Hubert

McNeill; Reinhold, Meyer; Saunders, Catharine; Tavenner, Eugene.

Nelson Glenn McCrea (5): Cass, Myrtle Marguerite; Franklin, Alberta Mildred; Glass, Meta; Henry, Margaret Young; Sell, Lewis L.

Augustus Chapman Merriam (3): Earle, Mortimer Lamson; Rogers, James Dennison; Young, Clarence Hoffman.

Harry Thurston Peck (11): Baldwin, Florence Theodora; Ball, Allan Perley; Chickering, Edward Conner; Clark, Victor Selden; Cooper, Frederic Taber; Cosenza, Mario Emilio; Du Bois, Elizabeth Hickman, later Peck, Mrs. Harry Thurston; Knapp, Charles; Olcott, George N.; Reiley, Katharine C.; Sister Marie José.

Edward Delavan Perry (10): Carpenter, Rhys; Grieve, Lucia Catherine Graeme; Hirst, Gertrude Mary; Hoadley, Harwood (with Professor M. L. Earle); Kohn, Lucile (with Professor M. L. Earle); Manning, Clarence Augustus; Ogden, Charles Jones; Ringwood, Irene C., now Arnold, Mrs. Irene C. (with Professor C. H. Young); Thallon, Ida Carleton, now Hill, Mrs. Bert Hodge (with Professor J. R. Wheeler); Wilson, Pearl Cleveland.

Monroe Smith (in part) (1): Radin, Max (with Professor J. C. Egbert, Jr.).

Edgar Howard Sturtevant (1): Rowland, William T.

James Rignall Wheeler (2): McMahon, Robert Cecil; Thallon, Ida Carleton, now Hill, Mrs. Bert Hodge (with Professor E. D. Perry).

Clarence Hoffman Young (6): Bennett, Florence Mary, now Anderson, Mrs. Louis Francis; Klein, Anita E., now Young, Mrs. Clarence Hoffman; McClees, Helen; Ringwood, Irene C., now Arnold, Mrs. Irene C. (with Professor E. D. Perry); Robinson, Florence Horton; Spaulding, Leila Clement, now Kent, Mrs. Edward W.

CHARLES KNAPP

### AN EARLY ROMAN LOAN BANK

Several writers<sup>1</sup> have called attention recently to certain parallels between conditions of to-day and conditions in ancient Rome, but the close similarity between the activities of several of our present governmental agencies and a commission appointed in Rome in 352 B. C. seems to have escaped notice. The Roman episode is discussed by Professor Tenney Frank in a recent volume, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Volume 1, *Rome and Italy of the Republic* (see pages 29-31)<sup>2</sup>.

The condition of debtors had become a matter of public concern. According to Livy 7.21.7-8, as quoted by Professor Frank, in the translation by Professor B. O. Foster (*The Loeb Classical Library*, 1924), a commission of five leading statesmen was appointed: . . . <the commissioners> managed matters wisely in other respects, and, in particular, they expended with-

out throwing away the public funds. For with long-standing accounts, embarrassed more by the debtors' neglect than by their lack of means, they dealt in one of the following ways: either they paid them out of the treasury—taking security for the people first—at the banking tables they had set up in the Forum; or they settled them upon a valuation, at fair prices, of the debtor's effects. And so, not only without injustice, but even without complaint from either side, a vast amount of indebtedness was cleared off.

Professor Frank's comment on the passage is, in part, as follows (30):

. . . Livy's account is therefore probable, namely, that the state treasury, through the commission, took over some mortgages on sufficient security, and in other cases supervised the settlement of mortgages by permitting bankruptcy proceedings or a surrender of a part of the property in satisfaction of the debt. . . .

It is hardly necessary to point to the similar actions of our Reconstruction Finance Corporation in aiding the refunding operations of various corporations and to the aid that other governmental agencies are giving, or are supposed to be giving, to hard-pressed farmers and house-owners.

The events of the next ten years in Rome suggest what is likely to happen when a government goes into the mortgage business. I quote Professor Frank once more (30):

Five years after this (in 347 <Livy 7.27.3-4>) the legal rate of interest was reduced to half an ounce per pound (4 1/6 per cent) and a moratorium was again arranged. Presumably the treasury itself had to submit to its share of losses on the mortgages that its commission had assumed five years before. When the state treasury assumed the burden of mortgages it is not surprising that pressure was soon exerted to reduce the interest rate. Public advantage is seldom as well guarded as private. . . .

Livy (7.42.1) refers to a Genucian Law of 342 forbidding the taking of interest. Professor Frank concludes that such a law was probably passed, but soon became a dead letter. He adds (31):

. . . It may be that the measure was aimed chiefly at the state-mortgages and that when these had finally been disposed of private money-lenders again gained influence enough either to have the Genucian law repealed or to be able to disregard it.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

RUSSEL M. GEER

### GLADSTONE, QUINTILIAN, AND CICERO

When John Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone* (New York, Macmillan, 1911), discusses Gladstone as an orator, he says, besides other things (1.192):

. . . Yet he had seriously studied from early days the devices of a speaker's training. I find copied into a little note-book many of the precepts and maxims of Quintilian on the making of an orator. So too from Cicero's *De Oratore*, including the words put into the mouth of Catulus <2.363>, that nobody can attain the glory of eloquence without the height of zeal and toil and knowledge. . . . He never forgot the Ciceronian truth <De Oratore 3.30> that the orator is not made by the tongue alone, as if it were a sword sharpened on a whetstone or hammered on an anvil; but by having a mind well filled with a free supply of high and various matter. . . .

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MARY JOHNSTON

<sup>1</sup>Compare e. g. John W. Spaeth, Jr., *State Supervision of Municipal Finances*, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 26.99; William D. Gray, *The Roman Depression and Our Own*, *The Classical Journal* 29.243-256. <sup>2</sup>Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933.